

ARCHEOLOGY

- 172 Large circular hollows in the ground are found at various points in Carajá territory, always in the close vicinity of a stream. By tradition these are ancient cemeteries; of old, they say, people did not mourn at a funeral but held a feast in the hollow. One of these hollows located on the height above the river bank at Fontoura is 18 m. (about 58 ft.) long, 15 m. (about 50 ft.) wide, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ m. (5 ft.) deep at its center. The mound forming the northern side was excavated, disclosing two lines of burials with associated pottery, bone labrets, and beads.

- 764 The pottery is very similar to modern Carajá pottery and the labrets are exactly like those now in the possession of the Carajá. The cemetery cannot, however, definitely be identified as Carajá. The present-day Carajá cemetery is different in location and ground plan. There is now secondary urn burial, and in the first burial the bodies are laid at right angles to the river rather than parallel as were those disclosed by the excavation. Still, the remains show even less resemblance to the Ge and Tupi peoples in the neighborhood. The question must be left open for further archeological study.

HISTORY

- 648 Since the earliest times, the Carajá have been at war with their Ge and
175 Tupi neighbors. The sole exception is the Tapirapé, with whom at one time the Javahé maintained close and friendly relations. The Shambiod were the first to come in contact with the Neo-Brazilians early in the 17th century. Contact with the Carajá proper must have begun shortly after the founding of Santa Anna by Bartholomeu Bueno in 1682. The Carajá are on good terms with the Neo-Brazilians, trading skins and fish for clothing, beads, knives, axes, guns, sugar, and salt.

- 439 Population.—According to the census made by the author in 1939, the
161 Carajá number 1,510, divided as follows: Carajá proper, 795; Javahé, 650; Shambiod, 65. These figures should be contrasted with Castelnau's (1850-59) count in 1845 of 2,000 Shambiod in four villages, and his estimate of a total of 100,000 Carajá, and with Krause's (1911) estimate of 10,000 Carajá in 1908.

CULTURE

SUSTINENCE ACTIVITIES

- 241 Farming.—Clearings are made in the thick forest along the water-courses. Gardens must be so located as to be accessible by canoe in the dry season and yet not flooded in the rainy season. The scarcity of such land results in some of the plots being several miles distant from the village. Proximity to fishing grounds is generally held to be more important. The work of clearing is begun in May at the beginning of the dry season. Maize

Basketry.—The *Carajá* excel in the variety and solidity of their plait-work, which includes burden baskets, strainers, shoulder bags, bottles, elliptical feather cases, and boat-shaped containers for suspension. Twilling and twining are the dominant techniques (pl. 22).

Textiles.—The *Carajá* produce some taffetalike fabrics, but in 1775 Pinto da Fonseca found them using cotton solely for fish nets and bow-strings, so that he himself introduced a loom and taught the women how to work it.

Featherwork.—In contrast to their *Ge* neighbors of Eastern Brazil, the *Carajá* are outstanding for featherwork. They make wide-meshed and close-meshed caps with feathers tied to the intersection of the interlaced splints and arranged into rosettes, diadems of feathers stuck into radially mounted cane tubes, and other types of ornaments (pl. 21).

Axes.—Stone axes figure in old *Carajá* petroglyphs and have been found by many travelers in the area. They were used for adzing, chopping, and warfare, and as chief's badges. Iron axes have rapidly replaced them.

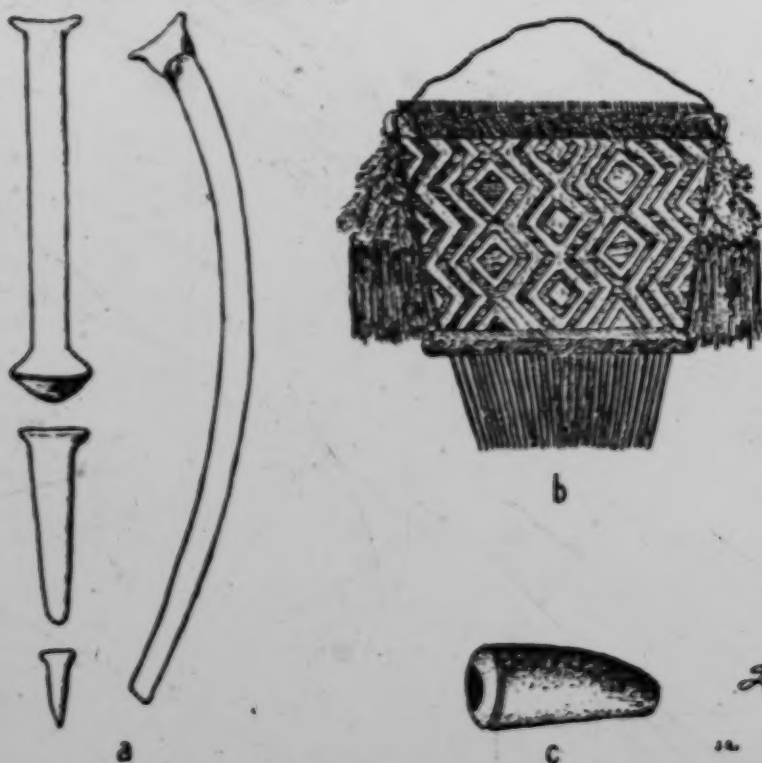


FIG. 21.—*Carajá* manufactures. a, Labrets; b, comb; c, pipe. (Approximately $\frac{1}{2}$ actual size.) (Rodriguez from Ehrenreich, 1891 b, figs. 2, 9, and 4.)

/7 cont./

[36] Their northernmost settlement near S. Maria (was attacked and
[48] completely destroyed in 1881 by the Kayapo of the left bank.

Since then they have not ventured far beyond the northernmost tip of Bananal Island with their settlements. Their farthest excursions go below S. Maria to the rapids of Jonco (i. e., it is at an end).

439 They perform important services for the traffic on the river by felling wood for the steamers. As payment they receive axes and knives, which they on their part trade to other tribes, such as the [77] Yavahē and Tapirapé. Understandably, when steamboat transportation was established, care was taken from the first to stay on good terms with the savages. The merit for introducing this excellent relationship and maintaining it for 20 years belongs to the courageous commander of the steamer, Sebastião de Freitas, who served so well in exploring the Araguaia. It is thanks to his unselfish, kind work that perhaps /8/ nowhere else in Brazil are the relations between the native population and the settlers so good as here.

To be sure, for the Karayahi the contact with "civilization" [194] has not been without consequences. In comparison with the independent Šambioa, a certain lack of order and cleanliness in their villages and less care and taste in their artifacts are noticeable. On the other hand, a wealth of most interesting ethnological ob- [126] jects are still present among them. The most important pieces in the collection were acquired from them.

311 Their material position cannot be described as especially favorable. The lower riverbanks of their region are so exposed to floods that they can practice agriculture only to a limited extent. They [648] venture onto the higher left bank only temporarily, out of fear of their worst enemies, the Akuã and Kayapo.

[13] The third large Karaya horde is that of the Šambioa, about [101] whom Castelnau brought back the first more detailed reports. [361] They possess four rather large villages between the Pau d'arco rapids [224] and the great Cachoeira de S. Miguel. Their hunting expeditions, however, extend beyond the Cachoeira grande, in former times up to the region of the Apinagēs, near the present São Vicente, from [172] where increasing settlement has scared them away. The rock sculptures of the so-called Martirios Island between the Carreira

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131 comprida and Cachoeira grande are in any case the work of their
 172 ancestors. Since the first Araguaia travelers already mention these
 "inscriptions" as documents of great age, the Karaya must have
 lived in these regions at least since the sixteenth century (see
 pp. 91 ff.).

439 Within the Šambioa region, where the river is no longer
 [169] navigable for ships, there are no Brazilian settlements at present.
 The savages are therefore completely dependent on the barter
 trade with the few larger rowboats passing by four to six times
 annually or the small vessels which maintain communication with
 [648] São Vicente. They deliver mainly hammocks, field produce,
 and chickens to the travelers, but have otherwise kept their full
 433 independence. Living under far better conditions of existence than
 the Karayahi, they stand, as far as agriculture is concerned, on a
 higher level than even the civilized river-dwellers.

648 They live in most bitter enmity with the Kayapo tribes of the
 left bank, the Kradahō /Cradaho/, Ukikrin, and others. Many
 [172] abducted women and children of the latter are found in their vil-
 lages. On the whole, however, they are well treated, the chil-
 dren even adopted into the tribe without further ado.

The relationship of the Šambioa to the settlers has not always
 been peaceful. Nevertheless, Castelnau was already able to sub-
 stantiate that these Indians did not deserve the bad reputation which
 they had among the Goyans at the time. The main guilt for the
 misdeeds which occurred is in any case to be sought on the side of
 the foreigners.

609 Their behavior was decidedly hostile in the seventies when the
 notorious Chief Roco attacked travelers on several occasions and
 massacred them.

Today it is only the inhabitants of the second village who
 receive strangers with hostility. Women and children are taken to
 [411] safety, the warriors stand threateningly on the shore, armed with
 bows, spears, and clubs, and hardly condescend to barter. In the
 other villages our reception left little to be desired, once the
 fleeing women were successfully persuaded to return.

/16 cont. /

252 cakes (beijus, ibrajeko), likewise roasted in pots, are made from the freshly treated root.

293 In combination with maize, manioc flour is also used to make their most popular beverage, uicrô. Pounded maize is poured into the boiling manioc and stirred well. /17/ When it is sufficiently soft, the mixture is allowed to cool. Then the settlings are chewed by the women in true Indian fashion, whereby the whole thing turns sour and ferments after standing for several days. A sourish beverage something like water gruel is produced, to which honey or sugar-cane juice is sometimes added. The effect is slightly intoxicating.

415 The kitchen utensils are simple, but nevertheless somewhat
412 more complete than, say, among the Xingu tribes. Besides earthen
[33] pots and gourd containers, as well as mussel shells of the
Anodonta and Hyria avicularis serving as spoons, there are already real spoons made of wood or clay (cf. Fig. 5 /see p. 38 / and Fig. 14 /see p. 51 /).

264 Etiquette demands that everyone eat by himself, turned away from the others. Anyone who transgresses must endure the ridicule of the others.

Tools and Implements. Industry and Skill.

199 The industrial activity of the Karaya no longer presents a wholly unclouded picture inasmuch as the original tools have been supplanted more and more by imported ones.

412 No details are known about the form and material of their
• 192 old stone axes. Among the petroglyphs of Martirios Island, however, which undoubtedly are to be ascribed to the ancient Karaya, one sees human figures depicted with stone axes in their hands (see p. 94). The same form is exhibited by a stone ax of unknown origin in the Trocadero Museum in Paris, the handle of which is wrapped with the plaiting in zigzag and cross patterns characteristic of Karaya work. Possibly the piece came from the Castelnau expedition.

/45 cont. /

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191 Shooting stars are very aptly compared to a hook cast out and the bait on it.

The rainbow is the "electric eel" (koadzi, the trem-trem of the Brazilians).

During eclipses of the moon it is said: ahahdō rero, the moon wishes to die. Pedro Manco denied that noise is made to avert this disaster.

The Petroglyphs of Martirios Island

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[131]

About midway between the two great river rapids, the Carreira comprida and the Cachoeira grande, a narrow rock island about one kilometer long lies close to the right river bank, the Ilha dos Martirios (6° 22' south latitude), which rises gradually from south to north. Flooded to a large extent during high water, it is connected to the neighboring bank at low water. Its western edge then falls in steep walls from 8-10 meters high down to the surface of the river. Heavily eroded, they are riddled by countless potholes and broken up into groups of columns, pyramids, and arches. The predominant stone is a coarse-grained, horizontally-layered quartz schist which splits into huge blocks. The opposite bank has the same formation. The river runs here as though in a natural channel 150 meters wide with a very slight drop.

192 On the north end of the island, in part at its highest elevation (about 15 meters above low water), in part somewhat lower in the region of the high water line, there are visible on the stone blocks on the ground a large number of rock sculptures which are among the most remarkable on the continent and have become the center of a whole series of tales.

Only a few travelers have seen them; no one has investigated them in detail or copied them. Quite early they attracted the attention and stirred the imagination of the first Paulista bands of Pires Campos and the notorious Anhanguera (Bartholomeo Bueno the Elder), who visited the island at the end of the seventeenth century on their expedition to the Araes and their rich goldmines,

/45 cont./

● 172 in order to see here "the cock, the cross, the crown of thorns, and the hammer, the signs of the martyrs of Christ dug into the rock."

The more detailed reports were lost for a long time and were not brought to light again until the end of the previous century. In the meantime legend had taken over and up to the present adventure⁵ went out to seek the marvelous landmarks for the road to Eldorado in Mato Grosso, on the Xingu, on the Paranatinga, or elsewhere; as always it was thought that the Jesuits were their makers. The fact that, in spite of the clear description handed down by the younger Pires Campos, who accompanied his father (1), nobody thought of the real martyrs

1. Cunha Mattos, "Corogr. de Goyaz,"
Rev. trim., Vol. 38, I, pp 143 ff.

on the Araguaia was because most travelers did not find the marks and therefore denied their existence. They were not sought in the interior of the island, but on the steep walls falling to the river. Thus, Castelnau and after him Rufino Segurado were unable to discover anything of them.

We ourselves found the proper spot, which lies at least a hundred paces inland, only after a rather long search.

The figures, of which only the most important were sketched, lie in groups strewn rather irregularly over a broad area. They are either clear contour drawings of animals, human beings, and stylized figures in lines 1-2 centimeters wide and a few millimeters deep, or /46/ simple scratchings of intersecting strokes and curved lines without any explicable form (Fig. 23, Nos. 1-38 /see p. 96 /).

Among the former some very well executed animal pictures strike one first of all. The largest and most successful of them is an alligator (No. 1) 130 centimeters long; furthermore an insect (ant?), whose oval abdominal segments are reproduced by shallow cavities (No. 4), as well as lizards in various types of execution (Nos. 6 and 8). The figures of a bird (No. 2), several

/46 cont. /

- 172 monkeys (Nos. 15, 19, 27, 28), and finally human figures are already somewhat schematic. The simplest of them (No. 34) is like the dolls twisted out of straw which one sees so often on the gables of Indian houses. More complete is a figure with outstretched extremities (No. 26) which show only three fingers. Of special interest is a squatting figure (No. 7), which has an ax in its hand, and indeed evidently a stone ax. Such are also represented by themselves in Nos. 9, 5, 11, and 29. Their shape agrees completely with the Karaya stone ax decorated with plaiting in the Trocadero Museum (cf. p. 30).

Finally we have some stylized drawings which, although easily recognizable, cannot be interpreted with complete certainty.

Above all we again encounter the characteristic cross-ornament, as on the above-mentioned grave pole, surrounded by a border line. It may represent the same animal emblem here as there (Nos. 31 and 33). Nos. 2 and 14 are cross figures of another type.

A circle speckled with numerous dots indicated by small pits (No. 23) and a rhomboidal figure with 16 such pits in four rows (No. 3) remind one very much of the quite analogous forms among one of the upper Xingu tribes visited by us, where this was designated as "spotted rays." This explanation is appropriate for another symbol which occurs most frequently and is interpreted by Christian visitors as the "crown of thorns." It is a circle from whose periphery short rays run. The row is interrupted in one place by two lines extending out farther (Nos. 10, 12, and 18). The largest of these figures shows a T-shaped drawing in the center.

No. 17 is a very noteworthy mark which one could almost view as a symbolic representation: an outstretched arm with the hand and five outspread fingers, crossed in the middle by a horizontal crossband, from which 24 to 25 continuations project downward.

/46 cont. /

172

Among the simple scratchings, which for the most part remain very unclear, there are two which agree completely with the representations of the sun as well as the compass directions (Nos. 25 and 35). The first is a kind of swastika. Whether the circle segment with teeth at the bottom right of No. 35 belongs to it or drawings like Nos. 10 and 12, the rest of which is effaced, remained uncertain.

These petroglyphs are most like those of Guiana, and indeed especially those which Im Thurn called "deep rock engravings" in contrast to the "shallow engravings," which have a quite different character (op. cit., p. 400).

Here, too, we have no reason to think of two essentially different types of drawings stemming from different peoples just because they occur mixed with each other in the same place, which is never the case in Guiana. They have nothing in common with the rock pictures known up to now from East Brazil, but they do indeed remind one strongly of the drawings carved in trees or painted in the sand by the Xingu tribes.

The occurrence of the cross in the form characteristic for the Karaya makes it more than probable that these works are to be ascribed to their ancestors.

The question of their meaning is more difficult. Whereas people have often claimed that such field sculptures are inscriptions or the marks of a long gone era of higher culture, other reporters consider them simple, meaningless trifles to fill up idle hours. The first opinion is not discussable, the second would indeed be applicable to those figures engraved in tree bark or sand, but not to works which, considering the primitive tools, must have required a quite extraordinary expenditure of time and effort. /47/ Fig. 23 appears here. /

/48/ Im Thurn's opinion (op. cit., p. 407) that the ancient Indians engraved these marks as a remembrance of important events at the spot is the most credible. Such must have happened most often precisely at river rapids, where marked rocks are found almost exclusively in Guiana, in part through accidents to boats, in part by hostile clashes with other tribes during fishing expeditions and similar undertakings. This would not exactly fit for the

[Text Continues On P. 97]

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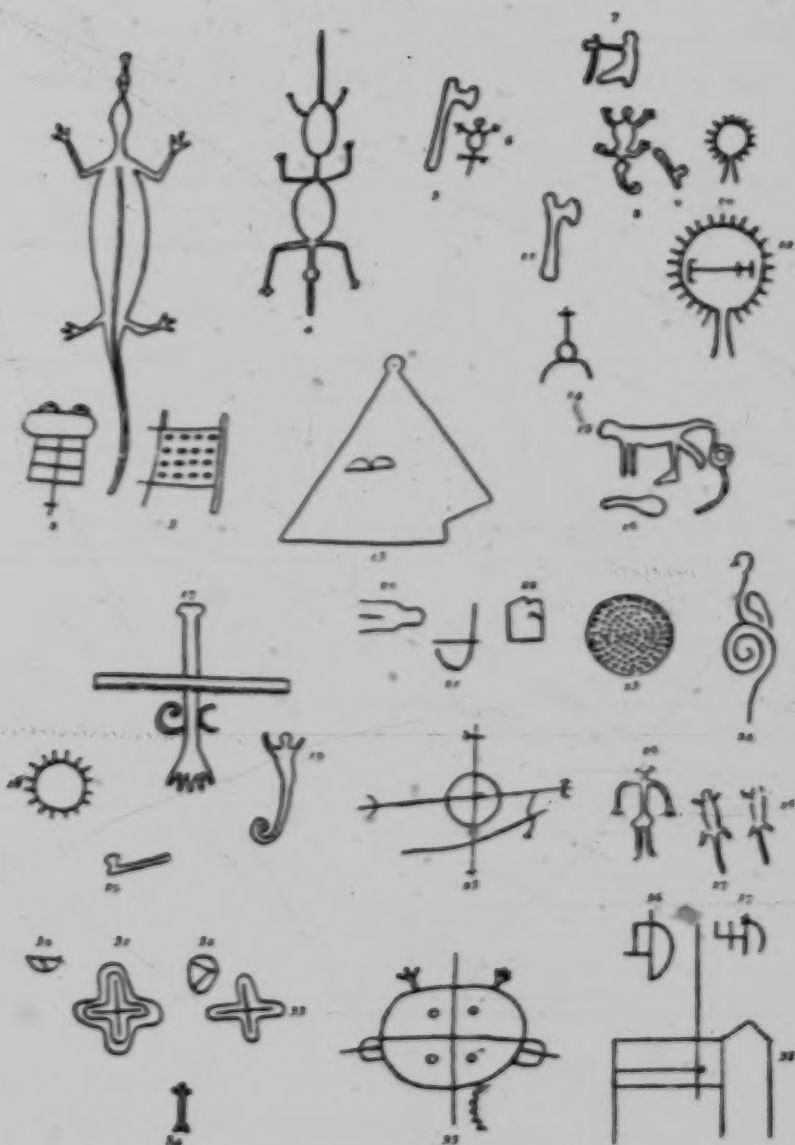


Fig. 23. Groups of the petroglyphs of Martirios Island (ca. 1/15).

/48 cont. /

- 172 present petroglyphs inasmuch as the rock drawings are completely lacking precisely at the cataracts of the Araguaia; rather, Martirios Island lies in an absolutely clear and quiet stretch.

[131]
[48] Nevertheless, it is a most important place for the Karaya. It forms the northern boundary of their territory and it is here that the hordes of the Kayapo hostile to them frequently come to the river. Many a battle may have taken place in this region between the two nations.

The interpretation of the rock sculptures as memorials or border markers, to which perhaps family insignia of prominent leaders have been added, seems to be the most acceptable according to the prevailing conditions. /The remainder of p. 48 and pp. 49-77 are not translated. /

/78/

Explanation of the Plates ²_A

Pl. I. Karaya. Men and Women (of the fourth village of the Šambioa).

1. Warriors. The man on the left /sic/ with parted hair, the tobacco pipe (Fig. 4 /see p. 28/) in his mouth, holding his weapons in his hand. The one on the right /sic/ shows the hair put in a braid with the feather decoration uiktamaru (see p. 16) and the national wrapping of the foreskin (see p. 17).

[285] 2. Woman and girl with the bast aprons, whose front end is drawn to the rear since both individuals have just got up from the ground (see p. 17). One of the large buriti-fiber mats mentioned on pp. 38 and 39 forms the background for both groups.

Pl. II. Karaya. Men (of the fourth of the village of the Šambioa).

[301]
[304] 1 a and b. Portrait of a young Šambioa man with ear sticks and wooden lip-plug, widely parted hair, and clearly recognizable tribal tattooing on the cheeks.

²_A [Plates appear on pp. 103-115--Analyst]

/284 cont. /

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[394] very pronounced in the pottery in the villages from Leopoldina to São José. These villages furnish the Brazilians with cooking and eating vessels, so that in São José and Leopoldina one finds Indian vessels almost exclusively. They have already been [531] adapted, however, to the taste of the Brazilians: the small eating dishes have the typical bowl-shape and on the edge bear a decoration in red color (Ill. 96). The water-cooling vessels, too, which the Indians in the villages mentioned make for the Brazilians, show the purely Brazilian type and red decoration.
- [386] The red designs are made with an earth color. The red earth [319] for this (ajê, ajêbê) comes from the Barreiras do Veado and is taken along to São José and Schischá by the Indians of the north horde traveling south for arrow cane, in order to sell it to the Indians [531] there. It is applied mixed with water. The true Indian vessels are undecorated.



Ill. 133.
Old clay-vessel.

I obtained in Schischá a most peculiar vessel, whose origin is unknown (Ill. 133). It is irregularly spotted dark red and black as a result of uneven firing; it is apparently made out of very crude clay and in a very primitive fashion. The two knobs on

the edge, which are slightly hollowed out on top, are striking. The vessel was found several decades ago in the sand of a sandbank by Indians from Schischá on a journey downstream. The Indians themselves were unable to say where the vessel might come from.

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114 I did not see anywhere the pot and bowl forms brought back by Ehrenreich: shallow, round dishes (Berlin 3862), flat, round plates (3863 and 3864), flat, oval plates (3865), low elliptical double bowls with a dividing wall running lengthwise (3866), cylindrical pot with turned-down rim and bast hanging-band (3861), double conical pot with hanging band (3858), and clay spoons (3878).

CHAPTER IX.

KARAYÁ ACTIVITIES.—CANOE MAKING.—WEAP-
ONS.—NATURE MADE UTENSILS.—ORNA-
MENT MAKING.—FAMILY LIFE.—PRIMI-
TIVE ETHICS.—MARRIAGES.—CHIL-
DREN.—GOVERNMENT.

The industrial activities of the Karayá now make a better showing than in former times, for their primitive tools are now more and more replaced by tools introduced from the civilized world. The old stone-axes have disappeared, and little is known of them. Ancient inscriptions and figures upon the rocks represent men with stone-axes in their hands, but these drawings belong to a remote period. 412
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[172]

To-day, the only primitive implements of the Karayá are those that Nature furnishes them ready for use. Their scraping tools, for instance, are sharp-edged shells; their chisel-like instruments are the teeth of certain powerful rodents; and smooth, flat stones, formed by the action of the water, are used as discs upon which to beat and prepare the web of bark which is their cloth. 412
[237]

It cannot be said of the Karayá that their primitive industries have fallen, in any degree, into decay because they have begun to use the tools of civilized men. Adaptability, beauty of form, and carefulness of execution, is evident in all their workmanship. Canoe building among them, for instance, has reached a high degree of perfection, though the method of constructing them is very crude. These canoes, which are all dugouts, are long and slim, and taper gradually to a point at both bow and stern. This form is perhaps best 461
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